[45 cont.]
782 quite high, which also gives us an idea of their value in the opinion of the Indians since they considered that the fact of their points being impregnated with the blood of the sacrificed child made them both more poisonous and more accurate.

766 The body of the boy, who had to be between four and six years old, was brought by the father to the hamlet after these magic operations were finished and was buried in the clan cemetery. The burial and the death of the child were secrets. Nobody must know about it. We could not discover if the secret nature of the ceremony was due to the fact that the community might punish the murderer, the mother or maternal aunt, or some member of the child's family on the maternal side, collecting the corresponding sum for his death in accord [46] with customary Guajiro law, or if the reason was that secrecy strengthened the malevolent qualities of the poison on the arrows. It is to be presumed that the latter hypothesis is the more acceptable, since the disappearance of the child and the sale of magic arrows by the father would point him out as the author of the sacrifice.

[682 789]

682 683 826 In any case we cannot overlook the aspects of blood in the child sacrifice just mentioned. Spilling blood is one of the crimes most severely punished. Blood, according to everything one can deduce, has great value for the natives, as it is considered an integral part of their human personality, even to confounding it, so to speak, with personality itself, as they do in the case of names. Hence, for the same reason, he who voluntarily or involuntarily sheds the blood of another person is stigmatized and becomes an outcast from society. He becomes unclean, and in consequence has to make the corresponding reparation which at the present time is complied with by paying to the offended party or to his family a determined quantity of valuable objects or animals. For this same reason, arrows contaminated with the blood of the child sacrificed by his father have, or ought to have, according to the Guajiro mentality, an incalculable value due to their participation in the sacrifice and spilling of blood, thanks to its presence on their points. Moreover, if we take into account what the dead man means to the Guajiro as a spirit capable of doing harm

[411]

411 435 775

[46 cont.]
411 when the respect due to his status is not shown (Cf. "Magic
435 and Funerals"), and particularly the spirit of those dead through
775 violence, we can better understand the high value they place on the imára, or magic arrow.

593 It will be well to explain again the position of the father
611 in relation to his son in La Guajira. The family in this society follows matrilineal descent, and therefore the father is not really considered as father to his sons but is to his nephews, his sister's sons. The family ties between father and son are so weak that they do not exist except in certain secondary aspects of the family economic organization.

411 The use of the poisoned arrow among the Kusina Indians
539 is shown by the following fragment of a story told by the same
789 woman informant who supplied us with the data on which this present study is based and which refers to the struggle between a Guajiro Indian named Kurfra-páta and some Kusina Indians who arrived at his hamlet one night to steal his stock. The section dealing with the magic arrow, translated literally from the Guajiro text, is as follows: [47] "The Kusina shot (with a rifle) at Kurfra-páta, who came upon them from behind. They wounded him in the thigh. 'Now, it isn't possible to do anything,' said K.P. 'Let's kill him to end this once and for all,' said the Kusina. K.P. lifted himself on to his sound knee. He shot at them (with his rifle), killing one. Then the Kusina said, 'Let's kill him with the imára (poisoned arrow).'"

411 The fragment of this story corroborates the existence of
789 the magic arrow among the Kusina, and also, as previously stated, the fact that the poisoned arrow,— magic arrow to us — was the last recourse utilized by these Indians when their other weapons did not produce the desired result.

The area of distribution of this cultural element, as we have seen, was in the Sierra de Cocinas, and it was frequently used in Jarara, where it was obtained by purchase or by barter from the makers. This class of weapon used to be employed in this latter region — Jarara — in times of war. Now it is no longer used in either of the two areas mentioned for two reasons.
[797 First, the evangelizing action of the Capuchin fathers in the
778] Sierra de Jarara, who have, in the main, mitigated the warlike

[93 cont.]
438 in charms, which usually have no magic value and are a com-
789 plete fraud. These women are accustomed to putting in a small
673 wool bag something that has the appearance of a charm and selling it as the legitimate article.

832 5. A love charm is worth about 300 Colombian pesos, and
435 just the loan of it for a few days to a friend for him to get the
426 desired results is paid for. Such a temporary loan is worth 100 Colombian pesos.

832 6. Besides the love charms which are strictly Guajiro,
[791] there are others that the so-called "Gocha" women sell. There are many of these women in Maracaibo and Zulia. Unfortunately, we could not obtain any special data about these makers of magic charms, of whom there are many on the eastern borders of La Guajira.

7. The charms serve equally for either sex; what varies is in general terms the effects of the charm.

8. Some personal objects, such as hair, sandals, etc., may form the basis of a love charm of great magic potential. This potential is above all due to the possession of a part of the personality of the person whom one wishes to harm.

9. Different love charms can be mixed together.

10. Charms may be acquired among civilizados. This kind of magic material is carefully kept in glass containers made especially for this purpose. [94]

Love charms. The Guajiro Indian, man or woman, knows and uses different charms to attract or repel love. They have them of different classes as regards form, preparation, and raw material. Some of them are the following:

a) One has the shape and general appearance of the excrement of the machorro, (a species of lizard). It has been stated that one of the magic objects used by the shaman is a small wool bag containing a paste prepared by a herbalist that is in the shape of goat excrement and is used to attract the spirits.

b) Another, which is kept inside a small glass receptacle, looks like a stone and is accompanied by some small pieces of coral.

c) Another is made in the following way: The root of a herb, very abundant on Itojoro Hill, is ground and [the paste]

[102 cont.]
777 prayers and special acts of magic with which the charm is endowed by its maker to give it its magic powers.

Charms to obtain respect, prestige, and affection. These
789 charms, which are for male use exclusively, are much sought after by the local caciques and by the arbitrators in claims between two enemy groups. The popular native belief [103] assigns the possession of this type of charm to such men as have great influence over them, that is, their natural headmen or direct superiors, and they are convinced that the greater the personal influence or power of such a headman, so much greater is the magic power of the charm he possesses. Hence the efforts of every influential Indian to obtain a charm superior in such qualities to any that may be in the possession of his rivals.

The possession of one of these charms inspires respect in others who would never dare to conspire against its holder's life or character because the charm would protect him and would
● [435 556] cause grave danger to the offender. It must be remembered that the possession of this amulet implies a condition of considerable wealth as it is only obtainable at a very high price, a fact which definitively influences [the degree of] fear and respect due its owner, owing to the established social custom of relating the social status of an individual with his degree of wealth.

When the native owner of this magic charm has to leave home in connection with some difficult mission such as, for example, taking part in the negotiation of compensation payment or settling a payment between two groups who have become enemies for some reason or other, or when he has to mix with a considerable number of natives among whom he wishes to assure his personal prestige, or when he hopes to overcome some difficult situation, he locks himself in his room hidden from all outside onlookers, gets his charm, uncovers it, and, looking fixedly at it for a moment, he then lifts it momentarily in his hand and vehemently wishes that all the magic power of the charm will inspire and defend him in the adventure he is about to undertake.
[262] He then replaces the charm and starts on the diet indicated for the charm to have its effect. He should not eat roast meat or roasted corn for a period of three days, or bathe, for should he do so he will become mad.

S: Simons K-S (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Gonjiro SC13

302 called *pava* if made of plaited straw, and *capanaa* if made of wool,
291 with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *toróna*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without
[293] a *kepiquita*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is
302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's journey, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *mapanicpo* or *marat* are rotten wood;
[386] *guanapai*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parica*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton,
[177] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with mora
[386] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however
[515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the
301 *pána* and the *sirapo*. The pána are like a pair of braces; long strings of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the sirapo, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. Pánas are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*imekhi*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With sirapos any coloured bead will do, *pisar* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the pána until
[844] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the pána make it of cotton dyed black and braided. Among the many necklaces, tumas are the most valuable. These curious
[172] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric race, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tómas* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small charge-barrels are *amarurú*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *periapa*, and *guarirainga*; the bugle is *parauria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, cornelian, and reddish sardonyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at
● [435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *kipana*, from *akepa*, the hand. On the foot they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *cashikondr* and the common *guarikera*.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are treated as superior domestic animals, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

so. One writer says that an old woman from those hills claimed to know how the arrows were poisoned. Otherwise, she said, only the Cusina knew the secret. That seems most doubtful, for the Cusina brigands are neither a class nor a clan which might possess special secrets, but merely a collection of outlawed criminals. There were many indications that they made considerable use of poisoned arrows and that they were firmly convinced of their efficacy. Even if death had been inflicted already by other means, they usually shot their victims with poisoned arrows as well, as an additional safeguard against their escaping. The Cusina and Cojoro Hills belong to the same complex.

The old woman in the Cojoro Hills said that the secret in the Cusina's way of preparing the arrows was a human sacrifice. A small boy was taken to a lonely place, where he was killed and some of his blood taken. This was later cooked and the arrows dipped in it. The old woman's account made this ritual murder even more gruesome, in that it made the boy's father the executioner. Of course, in Guajira a father has quite a different relationship to his children to that we know, being scarcely accounted in the same family, yet even from the Indian point of view, that must seem cruel. It would be different if the child were one who had been captured in war or bought as a slave.

There is no confirmation of the old woman's statement and it may well have been invented. There are many legends about these poisoned arrows. The woman's account does not mean that the arrows were poisoned by means of the sacrifice, merely that their strength was increased. Blood is always a magical element. If such rites really took place, that would surely point to an African influence brought by runaway negro slaves. The old woman's story, however, scarcely explains how the poison contained tetanus germs. Simmons, the traveller to whom she gave that account of what happened, also said that the poisoned arrows, *imard*, were sold by the Cusina, who asked eight *varas*, or ten yards, of cotton cloth for twenty-four. How these tetanus arrows were made remains a mystery that, perhaps, may never be solved.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

wife and he perhaps could do with it. I knew what unu was, but had never expected to be offered a secret magical object by an Indian who scarcely knew me.

Unu was one of the many *cóntra* or instruments of magic used by the Indians either to protect or help the possessor. Unu stimulated love. The Guajiro have not only their old Indian magic, but some of Spanish-Moorish and African negro origin. Where these cóntra are concerned, it would be most interesting, though difficult, to find out which were of red, black or white origin. They differ in character, but one and all can be lent or hired to a person of the same sex and can be used by that person with as much effect as when used by the owner himself.

A unu love magic was most difficult and expensive to acquire. The equivalent of £30 or £40 was the current price, while the owner will normally charge £10 or £15 if he hires it out. A cóntra must not be shown to any unauthorized person, as its power may then transfer itself to the person who happens to see it.

Love talismans were of different kinds. That considered to be of the best quality was a tiny pouch containing small pieces of what looked like the droppings of some sort of lizard. The magic stuffs of Guajira often imitate the excrement of various animals. Others consist of little stones in a glass bottle, or a decoction of herbs, which the person on whom the magic is to be worked has to take or wash in. One powerful and unfailing love specific is the hair clippings of the confined majayura girl, mixed with the blood of humming birds and other ingredients, but that can only be used on the girl in question. With her, however, it cannot fail.

The love magic the young Indian now said he would give me was one of those little pouches, thus very precious. He was willing to let it go because he liked my pistol so much. He had no further need of a love specific now that he had got himself a beautiful wife with its help—and, he might have added, thanks to a good supply of cattle. And if he ever wanted another cóntra, well, he knew where to get one. But he would not get any more wives. He was a

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[747] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serranía Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[156] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

55 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[435] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

536 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797 orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no